

## Message Text

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 014143

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, RO, AO

SUBJECT: ANGOLA UPDATE

REF: A) BUCHAREST 0302; B) STATE 303610

1. IN UPCOMING CONVERSATION WITH MFA ON POST-OAU CONFERENCE ANGOLAN SITUATION (REF A) EMBASSY MAY DRAW AS APPROPRIATE ON PREVIOUS GUIDANCE (REF B) PLUS CURRENT INFO WHICH FOLLOWS. RECENT WIRELESS FILES MAY ALSO BE HELPFUL.

2. MILITARY SITUATION:

THE MPLA/CUBAN ATTACK AGAINST FNLA POSITIONS IN NORTH-WESTERN ANGOLA HAS BEEN MARKED BY GAINS. THE FNLA SEEMS TO BE HOLDING A LINE SOUTH OF 7 DEGREES SOUTH. IN EASTERN ANGOLA, UNITA FORCES CONTINUE TO HOLD LUSO. IN WESTERN ANGOLA, MPLA AND CUBAN FORCES HAVE TAKEN CELA-SANTA COMBA IN THEIR CONTINUING EFFORT TO DRIVE TOWARD THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS. HAVING HAD VERY LIMITED SUCCESS IN THEIR EFFORTS TO ENTER THE CENTRAL HIGHLANDS AREA ALONG THE MAIN SURFACED HIGHWAYS, THE MPLA/CUBAN EFFORTS SEEMS TO BE  
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EMPLOYED IN PROBING OPERATIONAL EFFORTS ALONG LESS-

TRAVELED ROUTES WITH SOME SUCCESS.

SOME CONFLICT HAS OCCURRED BETWEEN UNITA AND FNLA CHIPENDA ELEMENTS IN SOUTHERN ANGOLA. (CHIPENDA WAS ONCE AN MPLA LEADER).

SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS ARE STILL SUPPORTING ANTI-MPLA EFFORTS ESPECIALLY IN THE CENTRAL PLATEAU.

3. HUMANITARIAN EFFORTS;

THE INTERNATIONAL RED CROSS HAS ASKED FOR ADDITIONAL FUNDS FOR ITS ANGOLAN OPERATIONS AND WE PLAN TO CONTRIBUTE. RED CROSS OFFICIALS ESTIMATE THAT ANGOLA'S (BAKONGO REGION) IS MOST IN NEED OF ASSISTANCE AND PLANS ARE UNDERWAY TO PROVIDE FOOD ASSISTANCE TO THE AREA THROUGH ZAIRE.

4. OAU SUMMIT:

OF INTEREST TO THE GOR MAY BE SOME BACKGROUND ON OUR REACTION TO THE OAU SUMMIT. A MAJOR CONSIDERATION IN SHAPING OUR POLICY HAS BEEN THE ATTITUDES OF THE AFRICAN NATIONS THEMSELVES. OUR ENEMIES AT HOME AND ABROAD HAVE TRIED TO LEAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT A MAJORITY OF THE AFRICAN HEADS OF STATE FAVOR THE MPLA REGIME, WHEN, IN FACT, A DEADLOCK OCCURRED AT THE OAU SUMMIT EARLY IN JANUARY;

5. PRIOR TO THE OAU SUMMIT THE MPLA HAD BEEN RECOGNIZED BY TWENTY-TWO OF THE FORTY-SIX MEMBER STATES OF THE OAU, WHILE NONE HAD RECOGNIZED THE UNITA/FNLA COALITION. IT WAS WIDELY ASSUMED THAT THIS WIDE DISPARITY MEANT THAT A BANDWAGON EFFECT WOULD TAKE PLACE AT THE SUMMIT IN FAVOR OF THE MPLA. THIS ASSESSMENT MISSED THE POINT: THOSE NATIONS THAT FAVORED THE MPLA HAD SHOWN THEIR PREFERENCE BY GRANTING RECOGNITION, BUT AN EQUAL NUMBER TOOK THE POSITION THAT ONLY A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY SHOULD BE AFFORDED RECOGNITION AND REFRAINED FROM ESTABLISHING RELATIONS WITH ANY FACTION. THUS THE  
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APPARENT OVERWHELMING SUPPORT FOR MPLA, WHICH EVAPORATED ONCE THE HEADS OF STATE SAT DOWN AT THE SUMMIT MEETING.

6. WHEN HALF OF THE MEMBER NATIONS OF A REGIONAL ORGANIZATION STAND FIRMLY TOGETHER ON AN ISSUE, WE MUST ADMIT THAT THERE EXISTS A STRONG CURRENT OF OPINION WITHIN THAT ORGANIZATION. THE MODERATE BLOCK ON THE OAU, AS IT HAS BEEN CALLED IS VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THE

OVERWHELMING SOVIET AND CUBAN PRESENCE IN ANGOLA AND REFUSED TO ACCEPT ANY RESOLUTION THAT DID NOT CONDEMN ALL FOREIGN INTERVENTION. THE BACKERS OF THE MPLA HOPED TO BE ABLE TO SLIDE THROUGH A RESOLUTION IN WHICH ONLY SOUTH AFRICA WOULD BE SINGLED OUT FOR CONDEMNATION. AS A RESULT OF THE IMPASS, NO RESOLUTION ISSUED FROM THE SUMMIT; NO NATIONS WERE CONDEMNED AND NO GOVERNMENT IN ANGOLA WAS RECOGNIZED.

7. TO SUM UP, TWENTY-TWO MEMBERS OF THE OAU ADVOCATED RECOGNITION OF THE MPLA AND CONDEMNATION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR ITS ROLE IN THE ANGOLAN CIVIL WAR. TWENTY-TWO MEMBERS OF THE MODERATE BLOC HELD OUT FOR: 1) AN IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE; 2) CONDEMNATION OF SOUTH AFRICA AND IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL SOUTH AFRICAN FORCES; 3) WITHDRAWAL OF ALL FOREIGN FORCES; 4) AN END TO THE SUPPLY OF ARMS TO ALL FACTIONS AND 5) RECONCILIATION OF ALL FACTIONS WITH THE AIM OF ESTABLISHING A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY. THE POSITION OF THE MODERATES SEEMS TO US TO BE EMINENTLY REASONABLE AND WE URGE ALL NATIONS INCLUDING THE GOR TO DO THEIR BEST TO IMPRESS UPON AFRICAN STATES THE NEED FOR A SOLUTION ALONG THESE LINES. SISCO

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